# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## We Want Modern Scientific Socialism.

Whenever a Socialistic reform is proposed which could be carried out at once, the objection is always raised in certain Socialist circles: "That could also benefit the capitalists, therefore it ought not to be carried out until the present system of society is abolished;" and after the matter has been sufficiently turned and poo-poohed, they invariably pronounce it "unsocialistic."

In short they pronounce all reforms bourgeois and unsocialistic if they are not carried out by Socialists, and some even want them carried out by Socialists of their OWN brand or sect. Others condemn every reform which is to precede the "great revolution."

This idea carried out logically means that every positive effort to shape conditions, before we have complete power, is equally unsocialistic, and that we must NOT actively begin on the reconstruction of society until some time after the "great revolution." The transformation of private ownership into collective ownership must precede any desirable reform—and reforms in our sense of the word would be possible only under the Socialist system.

Nothing could be more absurd.

To begin with: It is a most nonsensical view that we must wait for positive reforms, or that they are unsocialistic, until the majority of the people become Socialists. It is an empty phrase that originated with humbuggers and is repeated by ignoramuses that private property can be abolished or changed into public property by one measure, in one day, one week, or one year. It is an equally false supposition that this could be done if the majority of society were socialistic. Such wrong premises lead to all the false conclusions which confuse all ideas of reform of the orthodox believers.

We may be reproached as an "ideologist," but we say openly: The popular majority does not make the world's history, IDEAS MAKE THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Of course as a rule ideas have a materialistic basis, but the men who stand for these ideas are the men who make history.

This is the history of progress.

Progress is not attained by simply waiting for a majority of the people, for the general reconstruction, for the promised hour of deliverance. Those who promise anything of the sort are not one whit better than the priests of the various orthodox sects who promise heaven after death—and so the ruling class laughs at the harmless pseudo-revolutionary fakirs and gladly gives them permission to "talk" on every street corner if they like.

We wicked "opportunists" want action.

Let us be men of action!

We must work while it is day for US, we must build while WE have the strength.

Rome was not built in a day, nor will the co-operative commonwealth arise in one hour.

The new system must grow out of the old, and the builders must live in the old world while they fit together block by block into the new building, and only just in proportion as the new one becomes habitable can the old home be abandoned.

It was always so and will always be so. Why, with that degree of civilization called popular government, should it suddenly be otherwise? Who first thinks of building a new house after he has torn down the old and is lying in the street? And indeed any great unknown change is always regarded as a misfortune.

Besides, all the revolutionary phrases are ridiculous, because the entire crowd of pseudo revolutionists in America could not "revolutionize" a cat. The greatest attempt at "revolution" they ever made was the "great revolution of July 10, 1899," in New York, by the so-called Kangaroos against Prof. Daniel de Leon, and that was subdued by three Tammany policemen, making goo-goo eyes at the revolutionary "army." The whole scrap did not even rise to the "dignity" of a police item, since none of the combatants had been made a martyr of by being "pinched." Yet that miserable affair was called a "revolution" innumerable times by some of the "revolutionary" organs.

Well, of such "revolutions" they may have more in the future. But we want none of them. We have a different conception of the movement.

We want to reconstruct society, and we want to go to work without delay and work ceaselessly for the co-operative commonwealth, the ideal of the future. But we want to change conditions now, we want to have as much benefit as possible from enlightenment, culture and additional power over nature's forces NOW. We owe this to ourselves and our families and to future generations. We are willing to work for it, to vote for it, and—to fight for it, if necessary, and if we have the guns to do it with.

But the "talkie-talkie" business we will leave to the "glass-conscious, clear-cut, revolutionary" Socialists.

We stand for modern SCIENTIFIC Socialism.

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Mr. Self-Satisfied Citizen, you say you want no change.

Do you really want no change?

A big New York bakery gives away free bread at 2 o'clock in the morning. Go up there at midnight—as the writer of these lines has gone, when in New York last year—and see the long line of men forming and waiting for hours to get a piece of dry bread.

Would you like no change there?

We want a change there and everywhere where men starve although willing to work, and where women work for starvation wages.

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Here is a little item of New York city news clipped from the daily routine of events. It may interest the advocates of the capitalistic system—especially those who talk about the "unprecedented era of prosperity" in which we are living:

"Thirteen homeless men were arraigned before Magistrate Crane in the Jefferson market court as vagrants the other morning. They were a part of forty or more found sleeping on the warm sidewalks over the boiler rooms of the Metropolitan Life Insurance building, No. 1 Madison Square.

"They were arrested upon complaint of J. J. McCarton, a postal clerk in the branch postoffice in that building, who said the number of men who took advantage of the warm place to sleep had so grown that it interfered with the work of handling the mails.

"The magistrate said he thought the men more unfortunate than criminal, and, upon their promise to not again offend, they were discharged."

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If you vote the Social Democratic party into power, enough schoolhouses will be built and enough teachers employed to educate every child in the city—and wherever necessary material assistance will be rendered by the city to the parents who are unable to send their children to the school now on account of their poverty. The Social Democratic party in power will have every child in this city receive the best education this country affords, even if it should be necessary to tax away the last dollar of capitalist profits and rents in order to do it. If you prefer to have your children running the streets or toiling in the factories, don't vote for the Social Democratic party.

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If the Social Democratic party is entrusted with power in this city we can assure the workingmen that the taxes on capitalist property will not be reduced. We can also assure them that they will be spent in a way that will not please the capitalists.

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Whenever the masses vote to take control of the government the plutocracy of this country will hatch up as plausible a scheme as they can to hold their present status peaceably, but if they fail to count the people out they will attempt to seat some man as dictator and proclaim the republic a failure. It is well worth while to keep that in mind.

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Some people of our town are getting awfully anxious to get rid of the evils for which they have been steadily voting.

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"For every social wrong there must be a remedy. But the remedy must be nothing less than the abolition of the wrong."—Henry George in Social Problems.

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"Butchered to make a Roman holiday," says Lord Byron, were the savages in the days of old Rome. Butchered to raise the price of the shares of the Chartered South African company are the noble Boers of South Africa today.

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There is a young lady in New York worth $10,000,000. Her father must have worked very hard and been exceedingly thrifty. It would take the average workingman, able to save two dollars and a half every week, just 76,923 years to save that amount of money. Query for the worker: "How is it done?

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Here is a prediction:

The people will rule in this country whenever a majority become really hungry, but unless the people be enlightened and organized beforehand the rule of the people will be short lived.

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To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set into motion. Capital, therefore, is not a personal, it is a social power. When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, the person who loses the private capital in reality loses nothing to which he has a moral right. Private capital which has a social character now, is thereby simply transformed into social property. It loses its class character—that is all.

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"What sight can be more pathetic than to see an old, broken-down man trying to compete with vigorous manhood for a living for himself and family?"—asks an exchange.

There is one sight more pathetic. And that is to see the darned old fool walk up to the polls and vote so that he must continue his competition with vigorous manhood for existence for himself and family.

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There is one bit of advice we want to give our Milwaukee readers, and in fact our readers all over the country. Drink little or no intoxicating drinks. Read a few books, but let them be good books, and think a great deal about what you have read. Always be willing to hear the other side, if the other side does not take too much of your time. Never talk much yourself, but let whatever you say be clear and to the point. Try to be an organizer rather than an orator—orators were the ruin of every republic and every democracy that ever existed. And whatever you do in regard to organization, try to make it something solid, something lasting. Have the organization rather small and compact than large and incompatible. Instill the love of freedom, the spirit of resistance and the admiration of sacrifice into your comrades—for do not forget, the time may be near when you will be called upon to protect with your lives your own rights as well as the rights of your fellow proletarians. Your work will count then, if it was truly good work and if it produced truly good men.

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The present condition of unprecedented prosperity in Milwaukee—over 1500 families receiving public aid—indicates that even a great many "aristocratic" workingmen in Bay View who have been zealously guarding their position in "society" by crying down and disclaiming sympathy with Socialists and agitators of every sort, this winter have enough unemployed time on their hands in which to contemplate the "beauty" and "all-around loveliness" of "things as they are," and to make them look with different eyes at the wicked Social Democrats.

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We live in a commercial age; the shadow that is stealing over the American landscape partakes of a commercial character. In short, the shadow is of an unbridled plutocracy caused, created and cemented in no small degree by congressional, legislative and aldermanic action; a plutocracy that is far more wealthy than any aristocracy that has ever crossed the horizon of the world's history, and one that has been produced in a shorter consecutive period. And this is a democracy where every citizen has the right of ballot. Why don't you make use of it?

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Two thousand invitations to the launching of the Emperor's yacht were sent out by the builders, the Townsend-Downey company. Only those whose names had been passed upon by the committee of arrangements at Washington and the secret service bureau and personal friends of the builders received the coveted cardboards. At least two governors will witness the launching—Gov. Odell of New York and Gov. Murphy of New Jersey. Gov. Stone of Pennsylvania has been invited. Senators Platt and Depew have also been asked. The big figures of Wall street, among them J. P. Morgan, J. J. Hill, all the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Astors, E. H. Harriman, Russell Sage, James Stillman, John I. Waterbury, E. J. Burwind, W. J. Baldwin, Jr., August Belmont, George H. Haven, Morris K. Jesup, Charles Stewart Smith, J. Edward Simmons, Daniel S. Lamont and others have been invited. The luncheon will be served in an immense new building just completed, which contains tables for all the 2000 guests. President Roosevelt and party and Prince Henry and party will be seated on a raised platform erected midway of the building on one side. The American plutocracy intends to have a grand love feast with monarchy and feudalism across the water, and plutocracy has advanced in strength far enough in this country not to be in the least bashful about it.

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The first annual meeting of the United States Steel corporation (better known as the Steel Trust) was held last Monday. Among those present were Judge E. H. Gary (the assassin of the Anarchists in 1896), C. M. Schwab, G. W. Perkins, T. P. Ord, representing J. P. Morgan; Francis Lane Stetson and Charles McVeagh.

The old board of directors was re-elected to serve three years. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests were voted by Myles Tierney and Harry W. Forrest. The board is composed as follows:

Marshall Field, Daniel G. Reid, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Alfred Clifford, William E. Dodge, Nathaniel Thayer, Abram Hewitt and Clement A. Griscom.

Secretary Tribel presented the annual report, which shows earnings for the first year of $107,000,000. The net profits amount to $85,000,000. The surplus of the corporation and subsidiary companies is $174,344,229.

The cost of the properties owned and operated by the several companies is placed at $1,437,494,912; deferred charges to profit and loss for the development of mines, improvements, etc., which will be charged to future operations of the company, $3,350,774; current assets, $200,201,771, including $95,000,000 in inventories, $7,000,000 in bonds, $48,000,000 in accounts receivable and $55,000,000 in cash on hand. The whole assets foot up $1,847,443,521, nearly two billions.

The workingmen of this big aggregation were not regarded as "assets." In fact they seem to have no value whatsoever, and that may be one of the reasons why they are not considered when the profits are divided. But we live in a democracy and all these workmen and all the other workmen who are citizens and directly and indirectly are consumers of the Steel Trust, have the right of ballot. Why don't they make use of it?

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The linemen of the telephone companies in Chicago have been on a strike twice within the last ten months. The girls were forced to submit (whether wise or unwise is no concern of ours) to specific instructions as to where they should be vaccinated, a humiliation which the worst capitalist politicians in public office would never dare inflict.

In the municipal ownership of these utilities exploitation is reduced to its minimum. There are just two possible ways of using these industries indirectly to exploit. First, relieving capitalism to some extent of their taxes. Second, the profit of selling their iron, cars, wire, etc., to the city enterprise. To avoid this, however, would necessitate the socializing of all industries at one fell swoop, which is a fancy which has found lodgment only in the brains of lunatics.

Christ and his followers believed in the apocalypse. The Kingdom of God was to come like a thief in the night. Many religious reformers of the middle ages believed the same and quite a few Socialists now have the same view. But the wondrous vases have been broken. No genius or fairies will ever come by magic to bring with them a fullfledged Co-operative Commonwealth while we are dreaming and waiting. We must work constantly and our political progress must keep step with the economic evolution.

And this will not weaken the class struggle.

We can point out to the working class their class interests, and that these palliatives are simply steps towards the emancipation of the proletariat, and short ones at that; that the capitalist class will not relinquish their grasp except under the most tremendous pressure; that they do not believe in our demands and cannot conduct these enterprises as properly or as efficiently in the interest of the public as those who believe in Socialistic institutions. We Chicago Socialists should take the hypocritical mask from the face of Carter H. Harrison and call attention to the fact that while he is posing as a municipal ownership candidate, he is gathering under his cloak aldermen who will pass over his veto a grant of franchises which this subtle "champion of the people" knows full well.

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"The Filipinos are the finest musicians I have ever known," said Capt. Charles D. Palmer of Manila to a Washington Star man. "I have listened to some very excellent orchestral music, but I want to say I have never heard anything so magnificent as the playing of those natives. Nothing in this country, certainly, can touch them. They have all the instruments known to our people, but they play much better. Strange to say, too, they play nothing but the most beautiful classical music. Naturally the Filipinos are a very bright, apt and intelligent people."

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Speaking at a banquet of the Manufacturers' association of New York in Brooklyn, Bishop Burgess of the Episcopal church said:

"It is the duty of the preacher to sometimes look on the dark side of an industrial age with its multiplicity of inventions. These inventions are threatening our domestic life, and are endangering the sanctity of the home. They are threatening the welfare of our women.

"There are 5,000,000 women wage earners in America, and 60 per cent. of our workingmen could not support their families unless their women also went out to work. To find their places as breadwinners the women have to go out of their own homes, out of the protection of their brothers and fathers. We meet them in the trolleys and in the street, and they push and jostle as hard as the men. Their modesty is being rubbed off and there is a lessening of the chivalry of men.

"Industry, inventions and billion-dollar companies are not all. If this world is not to become a pitiless struggle, crushing out the family life, men must take on some of the tenderness of women, and the chivalry of man must be preserved."

To all of which let us reply that the wretchedness depicted by the bishop is due not to a multiplicity of inventions, but to the private ownership of the tools of production and their use for private profit. Why do not these people who talk glibly about effects teach the masses something about causes?

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### DAVE ROSE'S METHOD.

Raise a lot of boodle,
Tell a lot of lies,
Take a voter for a noodle,
Land the prize?

We will see whether it will work this time.

## The Situation in Milwaukee.

The local political situation at present is very complicated. The Pfister wing will not work together harmoniously with the La Follette wing. The Republican party is hopelessly split. The present Democratic mayor, Rose, was elected two years ago with the open assistance of the street car monopoly, while the regular middle-class Republican candidate was defeated. Ever since the split has grown wider and wider, because the fight between the interests of the great capitalists and the middle-class politicians has spread over the whole state.

The Democratic party as a national organization has all gone to the dogs. Yet locally, David S. Rose, as an expert demagogue, has few equals in this glorious country, and since one more bridge opening, with greased pigs, a German prince and unlucky "lucky chickens" stands on the programme before the spring election, and furthermore, because there is not a man in the country who can PROMISE more good things than he—he may be elected again with the aid of the German brewery bosses, the Polish priests and the saloonkeepers of all nationalities—unless the Social Democratic party causes a slip between the cup and lip.

At the last election the Social Democratic party polled more than 8 per cent. of the entire vote, and it is now exciting a great deal of attention not only among the politicians and professional "reformers," but also from honest citizens of all classes. However there can be no doubt that an attempt will be made in various quarters to draw off some of our union men by all the little tricks and baits with which the old party politicians are so familiar, that is by promising certain of the leaders jobs or buying them right out, provided they are for sale. But that "influence" is getting to be played out. And the other road to political success, by furnishing free beer, cigars, etc., to the masses ("them asses") concerns the unorganized proletariat mainly, but even that path has become a thorny one, for the politicians of Milwaukee.

Now here is the situation in a nutshell:

Nowhere in the country has Social Democracy gained such a solid footing in the trades unions as in Milwaukee, though it be a fact that among the boodle element and the lukewarm ones in some of the unions, our demagogical mayor can make sufficient competition to divide the strength of union labor and that with the help of a Republican candidate for mayor who will be put forth as a decoy duck to unite not only the "business men," but also the "reformers" who are disgusted with Rose, he may be elected.

But since we do not care to have any other votes than those of men who are in accord with our aims and objects, this state of affairs does not alarm us very much. True, we do not like the rule of the Rose machine: it means the rule of the corrupt and criminal elements of this city. Yet, after all, workmen can stand two years more of such rule as easily as the "business element" of Milwaukee. And if the business men do not like it and want to see a way out of it, let them read and study the platform of the Social Democratic party and act afterwards as honesty and consistency will tell them.

But the Social Democratic party expects of every one of its members that he will be constantly at his post in his union or society—quiet and not fanatic, but conscious of his purpose and never wavering for one instant in showing his color and standing up for his principles. And we must begin our AGGRESSIVE campaign a little earlier than we at first intended. There must be no lack of campaign literature. It is also absolutely necessary that the active members of the branches keep up communication with the central committee and remain in constant touch with it.

As for the rest, as usual, we "trust in God and keep our powder dry."

## The Folly of Lexington in View of Yorktown.

The Socialist party is pledged to the support of the trade union movement, because it is an institution which educates the working classes, raises their wages, shortens their hours, improves their factory conditions and in general raises their standard of life, and yet in no sense should we regard trade unionism as a solution of the industrial problem or a Socialistic institution. Its work is purely of a palliative character.

The Socialist party has in its national platform declared in favor of the national ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and many other particular industries which it has singled out for national ownership. These consummated, by no means constitute Socialism, but are only to be regarded in the light of ameliatory measures.

Our national organization has declared in favor of the referendum, that the people may vote directly upon principles and subjects brought forth for their consideration, that we may have a more complete democracy. While not in itself socialistic, it in some measure does away with the corruption of representatives and places the burden of misgovernment more directly upon the people, besides securing the advantage of discussing principles rather than candidates.

In Chicago a non-partisan organization came forth with petitions asking for a referendum upon certain measures. The Socialist organization sat silently by, while some of its members did actively oppose. So far as the national platform is concerned, it is a political sham in Chicago.

A great many Socialists in Chicago oppose municipal ownership of urban utilities for the reason that we are living in a capitalist state. In other words, they believe that we will some time have a co-operative commonwealth, but that only after we have a majority of electors in the country can we take under control and ownership the different industries which are now owned and operated by capitalists. It is clearly evident that Socialists who believe that way have no business to belong to a Socialist POLITICAL party NOW. They ought simply form congregations for the purpose of propaganda.

Scientific Socialists of the modern school think differently. They want to make use of the POLITICAL POWER—the modern weapon—for the amelioration of the condition of the working class and for the strengthening of the power of resistance of the proletariat. They are willing to diminish the swamp of corruption around us by drying up some of the springs that feed it. This can be accomplished by Socialists in various ways—it can be done, before all things, by Socialists injecting Socialistic principles into all municipal affairs.

For instance, the private ownership of street cars in Chicago not only results in the corruption of juries and the judiciary, but of the city council and legislative bodies. By municipal ownership that one evil would be avoided to a large extent, if not absolutely, and every movement which is made which diminishes the chance for corruption, opens the door for propaganda upon a legitimate and reasonable basis.

Furthermore, the workingmen in these industries are deeply concerned. Say what you may of the employes of the city, state or nation, they receive a sufficient income to maintain their families and educate their children, which cannot be said with equal truth of those employed in private industries, and whose wives and children fill the factories and department stores.

The 3-cent fare proposed by some non-Socialist reformers does not appeal to me. A 4-cent fare is not too high, but the surplus earnings should be used for the employment of the unemployed, and the improvement of the parks and school system, which has a direct tendency to strengthen and enlighten the working people; for we know too well that the most degraded, the lowest paid, the slum proletariat, is the most effective weapon of capitalists at the polls, and at critical times the poor slum dwellers are usually the best instruments and the most subservient tools to reactionary political and industrial schemes.

The gas plants are of equal imporance with the street cars (waiving the consideration before mentioned of the effect which it would have on the employes). Gas should not be regarded as a luxury, but as a necessity for cooking and lighting purposes in every family, and it is no reply to this proposition to state that some men need clothes and shoes more than light. Those who are in the most desperate need of clothes and shoes and who are most ragged, pitiable as it is, will be the last to take up the standard of Socialism, or any progressive movement. Despair has claimed them and will never relinquish her grasp.

It is true few workingmen use telephones unless to call a physician, but the immense dividends which have brought the stock of the telephone companies of Chicago to $300 per share, might be used to advantage in the construction of natatoriums, gymnasiums, the supply of free school books, food and clothing, municipal bakeries, coal and wood yards, ice houses, and a thousand and one different enterprises which would increase the industrial functions of the state.

Four years ago there was a municipal election in the city of Milwaukee. David Rose, candidate for mayor on the Democratic ticket, favored municipal ownership of all public utilities. The Socialists called attention to the insincerity of this candidate. He was elected and the Socialist vote was somewhat smaller than normal. Their prophecy was fulfilled. The franchises of the street car system of Milwaukee were renewed and extended and the papers say for a consideration of $65,000 to Rose and an equal sum to the aldermen, which, of course, would be rather cheap in Chicago. But Rose's behavior has resulted in strengthening the Socialists in Milwaukee.

In Chicago, the largest manufacturing city of America, the Socialist movement should become a strong and aggressive factor. The man who is preaching the millennium will have little opposition from capitalist sources. He who is striking at the very opportunity and has commenced to take away on every occasion the means of exploitation, will excite the capitalists' wrath and opposition.

We should bear in mind the goal—take the highway which leads to it, and capture every outpost, hamlet and garrison on the way. Lexington must precede Yorktown. The falling of the Bastile, the fourth of August.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

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Socialism, briefly defined, means the production of commodities for USE instead of for profit.

Socialists propose to bring this about by placing all materials used in the production, distribution and exchange of commodities under the control of the whole people, to be used by the people and for the people.

Socialists do not advocate confiscation. On the contrary, they are anti-confiscators, and desire so to organize industry and the conditions under which industry is carried on as to prevent a few from confiscating the wealth produced by the many.

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## HERALDRIES.

Prince Henry will sit down to a luncheon while in Chicago that will cost $100 a plate, but he will not be shown the Maxwell street district. He will be steered clear of the haunts where human beings live like rats.

While Congress votes pensions to the widows of dead army or navy favorites who wore shoulder straps, the mother of Bill Anthony, he who struck his name into history's pages in connection with the sinking of the Maine, is reduced to the last extreme of poverty and receives no help from Congress. But we have no class distinctions in America!

All the aristocratic snobs in Chicago want to be located near the royal box on the occasion of Prince Henry's visit. Extra boxes are to be erected, but who shall occupy them is the question that agitates the smart set. But it is not difficult to decide in advance that those who contribute the most money will be seated nearest to the prince.

Edward Boyce, head of the Western Federation of Miners and leader in the recent strikes in northern Idaho, has, it is reported, become a wealthy man through a rich find recently made in a mine in which he and his wife are interested. Some of the wealthiest mining men in the West are said to have offered a million and a half for the property, but the owners refused to part with it.

The American spirit and ideals having been abandoned and militarism and imperialism substituted therefor, Liberty's torch is to be put out on Bedloe Island in New York bay. Our "governors" have millions for killing Filipinos and subjugating Cuba, but no appropriation to illumine the entrance to capitalism's dominions—which fact would be encouraging if it could be regarded as evidence of conscious hypocrisy.

The more Archbishop Ireland talks the more he reveals his entire unfitness to deal in a spirit of fairness with the labor problem. In one of his characteristic harangues at Chicago he mixed up Socialism with Anarchism, declaring the one to be the forerunner of the other. If the counsel of such men as Ireland were heeded everything that is fatal to liberty and progress would soon be embodied in the laws of the land.

Mrs. Irene Ashby MacFaydon, who has passed much time in the South studying the child labor problem, says: "The only place in the world where children under 12 years of age are allowed to work unrestricted by law is in the South. There 10 per cent. of the cotton operatives are children under 12 years of age. In Georgia fully one-fourth of all the workers in the cotton mills are children under 12 years of age."

A census report on the manufactures of New York state has been made public. The total number of establishments in the state in 1900 was 78,659, an increase over 1890 of 19.5 per cent.; capital invested, $1,679,906,515, an increase of 48.6 per cent.; number of wage earners, 849,093, an increase of 12.9 per cent.; total wages, $408,864,952, an increase of 10.4 per cent.; value of products, $2,175,766,900, an increase of 27.1 per cent.

An invalid mother and six small children were found by the Chicago police in squalid rooms and terrible destitution. The children were in bed trying to keep warm, as there was no fire. They had eaten nothing but dry bread since their father died a week before of consumption. The store of crust and crumbs gave out. The oldest child is 7 years old and the youngest is 6 weeks. "Brother Getrich will please pass the plate for a contribution to assist the poor heathen abroad!"

There is a foreman of blockers in the Western Hat Factory, by name of Herbert Cook, who is especially hard on union men and who hates Socialists more than he does—water. If that poor "bloke" of a blocker thinks he can block the wheel of progress by petty chicanery in a workshop,—well let him try it. But the time may be near when slave drivers of that type will get a coat of paint in the vat of the dye room and be shipped out of town riding on the cow-catcher of a locomotive.

The national council of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, with headquarters in Chicago, has appropriated $5000 for the establishment of a co-operative bookbindery in this city. President E. W. Tatum of the national body, assisted by committees from the local unions, Paper Rulers' union, No. 48, and Bookbinders' union, No. 49, has already begun negotiations for the purchase of machinery and for a suitable building, and it is expected that the establishment will be in running order by March 10.

Starving and declaring that he had no place to stay at night and begging for work, an unknown man about 45 years of age was seen for several days in the vicinity of the middle Seneca street bridge, Cleveland, which is in course of construction. Weak from exposure and unable to make his condition known, he fell into an embankment of snow near the foundation of the bridge and when the workmen came to the spot the man was dead. He had frozen to death. A righteous verdict would be: Murdered by capitalism. It is going on every day.

A copy of the "New Century Song Book," by Dr. B. M. Lawrence of Los Angeles, Cal., has been received. It is a collection in a book of over 90 pages of well-written and inspiring songs suitable for use at Socialist meetings. The music score accompanies more than half the songs and the rest are easily adaptable to popular airs. Dr. Lawrence, the author, is a man now seventy years of age; most of his life has been given to the cause of social reform. His book sells for 25 cents and may be had by addressing J. F. Marek, 315 W. First street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Here is a suggestive thing for the fool people who create wealth and invent things to facilitate its creation to think about: Andrew Carnegie, in his address at the opening of an institute of technology at Hoboken, made this confession: "I had no inventive mind, simply a mind to use the inventions of others. I think a fit epitaph for me would be, 'Here lies a man who knew how to get around men much cleverer than himself.'" As Socialists contend labor and genius is the prey to cunning. Cunning has organized itself in the capitalist class. This Carnegie admits. When will workingmen see it?

It is not what capitalists in a "conference" profess to be ready to do that indicates their real attitude towards labor, but what they actually do in legislative chambers and the halls of Congress.

There is a strong capitalist lobby at work against Chinese exclusion. It is fighting the only bills before Congress that will insure the exclusion of the Celestials. These are House bill No. 9,330 (the Kahn bill) and Senate bill No. 2,969 (the Mitchell bill). Workingmen should write their congressmen urging support of these two measures. The Kahn-Mitchell bill absolutely prohibits the immigration of Chinese laborers.

General Superintendent Johnston of the Bethlehem Steel company, ex-Secretary of the Navy Herbert and several others representing large concerns doing work for the government, were before the House committee on labor the other day in opposition to the bill limiting to eight hours the service of those employed on work for the United States. Among the other firms represented by counsel at the hearing and opposed to the proposed restriction of hours were the Union Iron works of San Francisco, Midvale Steel company, Newport News Shipbuilding company, Carnegie Steel company, Cramp & Sons, Fore River Shipbuilding company and most of the other concerns engaged on various branches of work for the government.

There are four places in Chicago where old and diseased horse are slaughtered every night, according to the Illinois state food commissioner. Next morning before daylight wagons start out loaded with "fresh beef" which is sold to the poor. Some of the "ads" appearing in the newspapers are quoted to show how the business is conducted. Here are some samples:

"Wanted—Old horses to kill. Will call.

"Highest prices paid for horses to kill. Remove those not able to walk with ambulance.

"Wanted—All kinds of sore-footed horses. Will call.

"Wanted—Horses to kill; pay highest prices; disabled removed with ambulance.

"Horses wanted for killing; ambulance for disabled."

Gen. J. H. Wilson, who was formerly military governor of Matanzas, has in unmistakable terms disapproved the administration's policy in Cuba. He says:

"Since our occupation of Cuba we have not done one thing to repair the ravages of war. We have re-established no families in their homesteads nor attempted to restock barren farms and plantations. We have not taken a single step to extend the commerce of the country so as to enable the island to recover from the devastation of recent war. We pledged ourselves at the beginning of the war against the intention of exerting any sovereignty over the island, and promised to withdraw our army as soon as peace was restored. In spite of this pledge we have exercised every conceivable attribute of sovereignty over Cuba. We have absolutely controlled the domestic affairs of the people, and although perfect order has existed for two years, our army is still in possession of the country."

In Father McGrady's forty-page pamphlet entitled "A Voice from England," we find perhaps the best among much good work that he has done. It is a broadside hurled with tremendous effect against the common objections to Socialism and is all the more significant because the work which called it forth, written by a prominent Catholic priest in England, is being used in this country if possible to stem the Socialist propaganda. Rickaby's sophistries are shattered beyond any power to do harm where McGrady's masterly argument is read. The book should be taken up by every Socialist in the land and given the widest publicity possible. It is published by the Standard Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind. Single copies are 10 cents; three for 25 cents; eight for 50 cents; twenty for $1.00; one hundred, $4.00—postage prepaid. Send in your orders at once and help insure a big sale for this book.

## A Word to the City Street Car Workers.

The American has waited expectantly for some expression in this traction controversy that would indicate a recognition of the rights of the persons most vitally and directly interested in a correct solution of the traction issue—the street car employes.

We have waited in vain. Think for a moment what this means. Here is an army of faithful workers, each one having others dependent on his labors, absolutely voiceless on this issue.

What are we thinking of? Are the interests of capitalists the only ones at stake? Are even the interests of street car patrons—most vital, as we all admit—the paramount ones?

Consider for a moment the position of employes of the street car companies.

Here is the average conductor, either regular or extra, working long hours in filthy, overcrowded cars, often the innocent target for abuse from discontented patrons. The conductor is a human being. The pittance he earns usually goes to the support of some humble home.

EVERY IMPROVEMENT IN HIS CONDITION MEANS INCREASED HAPPINESS AND COMFORTS TO WIFE AND BABIES.

What does the conductor think about this traction issue?

Take the case of the motormen or the grip car drivers. Through heat and cold, through storm and sunshine, these humble and faithful toilers risk health and even life in the public's service. Comfort to them is unknown, for the companies that employ them persistently defy the statute that provides humane protection for car drivers.

These motormen and gripmen are human. We may be sure that necessity for the most part, not choice, makes them bread winners in such exacting and poorly requited toil.

What does the motorman have to say on this traction issue?

The American would like to interrogate these men directly.

Candidly, now, where do your interests lie, street car employes of this city?

Is it in MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP or is it in CONTINUED SLAVERY to private corporations that fight every attempt you make to better your condition? Would you prefer the highest standard of wages, a guarantee that your wages will not be reduced, a possible eight-hour day—in short, humane treatment, under municipal ownership? Or do you prefer a continuance of your present conditions under the soulless tyranny of private corporations?

There are thousands of you in this town. Your present wages are not as high as in some smaller American cities, though higher, at the hour rate, than in others.

You are denied the right of organization in your own behalf. You work twelve hours or more, at the hour rate, in order to make the lowest living wages for the support of your families.

You are treated as automatons rather than as human beings. The sufferings of a sick wife or child would not deter your corporation employer from cutting off your weekly pittance for some petty infraction of discipline. In your wildest flights of imagination you have hardly dared to picture an eight-hour day, permanent employment under civil service rules, fair wages and humane treatment.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OFFERS YOU ALL THESE, AND MORE.

Every time municipal ownership has been adopted in other cities the condition of street car employes has been vastly improved. It is to your best interests to work and vote for municipal ownership.

Let us discard the notion that stockholders, bondholders and other pecuniary beneficiaries of the street car service must be heard first when we are talking settlement of this question. The interests of the great body of citizens, who own the streets and who create the street car revenues by patronage, are paramount.

Not less vital are the interests of the overworked, poorly paid toilers who make their living in the street car service. Happily THEIR INTERESTS and the PUBLIC'S INTERESTS are one and inseparable.

Municipal ownership offers to street car patrons and street car employes alike the generous fruits of mutual co-operation in public service for the public good.—Chicago American.

## Elements of the Social Ideal.

"The elements of the social ideal must be found in the society of today," declared Prof. Howerth in the second of his series of lectures at Plymouth church, Milwaukee, last Saturday night. The speaker rejected the "benevolent despotism" of one man or a class of men, also "state socialism," and dwelt upon the importance of voluntary co-operation without reference to or the interference of government. He did not explain, however, much to the disappointment of many of his audience, how his ideal (which is a state of society in which capital will be socialized) is to be attained without first passing through an era of state socialism.

In closing, Dr. Howerth said: "The time will come when swords will be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, and when clods will carry only the life-giving products of industry and not the death-dealing implements of war; a society in which kings and emperors will no longer exist, because no one will assume superiority over his fellows; a society in which barriers between nations and races will have been cleared away, when the patriot is not he who loves his country, but he who loves his kind; a society in which there will be no poor except the poor in spirit, and no rich except the rich in wisdom and in love; a society in which there will be no idle, because all will have an opportunity to work and will realize the truth that the joy of living is in doing; a society in which there will be no overworked, because the equitable distribution of the work of society among all its members will lighten the labor of each; a new heaven and a new earth, in which man untrammeled by want and evil conditions will mount to the utmost possibilities of his being."

## The Danger Ahead.

Stuart Utley, an English workingman who has been visiting this country, says, in an article in the New York Iron Age, that he sees here indications of a conflict "such as the world has never seen before." He writes:

"The disorganization of labor is a matter of very serious moment to the United States. During the last great engineering strike in England, when over 80,000 men were out for six months, not a shot was fired. There was not a single riot, very little disorder, and when closed it left scarcely any ill-feeling. The fact was that being well organized they were under good discipline, and being fairly well provided with the means of subsistence, were not driven to the desperation of starving men, hence they were enabled to rely on a passive resistance. One has only to ask what would have been the result in the United States of a prolonged strike in one of the leading industries wherein a great majority of the men were without any means of subsistence and under no proper control. As one who has had a long and varied experience of men and things, I should tremble for the result, and to every mind in this direction lies one of the serious dangers to America's future. In Great Britain organized capital and labor are both sufficiently strong to respect each other's opinions and to lend a willing ear to the voice of conciliation, but from what I saw and heard in the States organized capital is the giant, and organized labor the dwarf. It is pretty much the same in industry as in other domains of human enterprise—history repeats itself. In the early days of British industry, when labor was unorganized, riots and disorder were frequent.

"I hope that I am mistaken, but, judging from what I gathered while in the states from sources well calculated to form correct opinions, I fear that the most momentous danger before America is an individual [industrial] war such as the world has never seen before.

"The stronger the trusts grow the more powerless will labor become. As it can not obtain redress from Congress in a similar manner in which British labor can from Parliament, and finding that the few are growing enormously wealthy while the many are steadily sinking into poverty, it may perchance strike out fiercely, wantonly, and madly like a blind, enraged giant.

"It is not for me to suggest remedies or to indicate the path of prudence. That would be impertinence on my part. Allow me, however, in closing, to say that nothing so strongly impressed me while in the states as the collective impotence of labor and the growing and crushing might of the trusts. Sooner or later that well-organized body will stand face to face with the horny-handed, undisciplined, and uncontrolled multitude of workers, and then the real trial of strength will begin, and after that—the deluge."

## A MULE AND A WORKINGMAN.

It was near the close of the Nineteenth century, after having spent the best part of my life in the service of civilization, that I found myself without means of subsistence and out of a job.

Men in like condition were all around me. Some were young, robust, hopeful; some were old, despondent, and despairing. Some sympathized and some hated.

In my younger years I had worked incessantly, but of late no one seemed to have need of my services, and my substance had been consumed in the interim between jobs.

It was the Age of Machinery. A pulley, a belt, a dozen shafts and bearings superseded a hundred workmen.

To my joy one morning, I read a sign, "Men Wanted," on an office door of a great corporation. For an instant my spirits bubbled over in the realization that I was a "man," and perhaps was wanted.

On entering the office I was met by a porter, who escorted me to a room where I was placed in the rear of a long line of men, awaiting turn at a door which led to an inner sanctuary, where the word "Men" was being thoroughly sounded and exemplified by a great doctor, named Doctor Physical Examination.

My turn came in a couple of hours and I passed in. A lady whose visage rivaled many of the likenesses of Satan I had seen in youth met me with a cold smile, which reminded me of my vanished overcoat, and a piercing eye which stirred up my rheumatic pains, so deep was its penetration.

In youth I had been a splendid specimen of manhood—strong-limbed, broad-shouldered, keen of sight, and ready of hand. A shadow of my former prestige remained, but in my hair age had sprinkled his tell-tale tokens, and my eyes, though strong, showed they had pored over the history of too many years.

The Great Doctor felt of my muscular arm, adjusted his glasses, and peered into my face with great wisdom. He turned me slowly around, as one would a revolving chair, and looked at me closely, up and down. As yet neither of us had spoken. He mechanically pushed me on a pair of scales, and peered through his glasses at the beam.

"What! what!" he exclaimed, looking closer and feeling my arm with more pronounced grip.

"Only 158! Good girth, fine arm, full chest, but two pounds short; and hair a trifle gray, and eyes declining in power of vision. Please pass out, sir!" and he opened a door into the street.

But I did not move. I was bewildered by his actions. "I would like to have work," I said, by way of explanation, but cutting me short he said hurriedly, "Our weight standard is 160 pounds; you weigh only 158—"

"But that is a small deficiency—"

"A million words will not bring you up to our standard," said he.

"I have letters of service from—"

"If you had testimonials from all my beloved ancestors, you are still two pounds light," he replied.

"I have had twenty years' experience in my calling—"

"If you were a golden Colossus, you are not of standard weight, and your hair shows you to be over the age limit," he replied.

"My friend," I said, "give me a trial; I need work; my family—"

"Sir, your usefulness is past for us; you are a back number; we want men, we need men, we will take only men. You are not up to our standard of a man, and belong to the scrap pile. One must be young, sound, good sight, hearing, and health, of proper age, weight, height, and habits—please pass out. Time is money!"

I stepped out into the street rejected, just as an old mule limped out of an alley on the other side. The stockyards were near by, and all day another Great Doctor had been sorting and buying mules. They must be young, sound, gentle, strong, true to the collar, free from bad traits, of proper age, weight, color, and disposition, and this old veteran which met my eye had failed to pass. He bore many visible tokens of disqualification. His left ear drooped. His right fore foot was full of corns. His tail had been broken, in a wreck, years ago. His under lip, hanging so low, gave him an unseemly aspect; and the copious flow of tears from his single eye bore witness that he had passed life's golden meridian.

We walked down the road together, lamenting over our mutual unfitness for earth.

Presently a butcher overtook us, and drove my companion away to the cannery. The grewsome thought, too dark for utterance, flashed through my mind—how long ere the cannery, instead of the almshouse, will be the refuge for worn-out workingmen?—Bert Huffman in Boot and Shoe Worker.

## Work for Carpenters.

Comrade John Lucksinger, 669 Thirteenth street, has charge of the work of building and setting up booths for the fair. He calls for the service of carpenters to work Sunday night, February 23, after 11 o'clock, at Freie Gemeinde hall. Social Democrats willing to assist in the work will please report to him at once. If you know carpenters in your branch, call their attention to this notice.

# Municipal Platform of the Social Democratic Party.

## The Ticket.

For Mayor.....HOWARD TUTTLE
For Comptroller.....EUGENE H. ROONEY
For Treasurer.....JOHN DOERFLER
For Attorney.....THEODORE BURMEISTER

The Social Democratic party is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education, and more culture. Those who toil with hands and brain are the producers of all wealth, but as laws are now made in the interest of property rather than of men, the rights of the toilers, although they are in the great majority, are ignored.

Under present conditions and under whatever form of government the wage-earner without means and without employment, no matter how much he may have produced previously by his toil, is always dependent upon the man with means for opportunity to work for a livelihood.

We hold that by the natural development of society this nation has outgrown the old system of government and must throw it off before our national ideal of a government of the people, for the people and by the people, can be actually secured. Political liberty alone has become inadequate; we must have both political and economic liberty. To secure this is the aim of the Social Democratic party.

In city affairs, we stand for the public ownership of municipal utilities. We are well aware, however, that Milwaukee does not enjoy self-government, and that, as a rule, no steps can be taken in that direction without an appeal to the state Legislature at Madison.

### HYPOCRISY OF OTHER PARTIES.

All high-sounding clamor by other parties in a municipal election is, therefore, simply a dishonest bid for votes, for these parties represent the classes that cannot consistently oppose so-called property rights of any kind. These rights are more sacred to them than the rights of men.

In municipal affairs the Social Democratic party stands also for every radical change that will bring means of production into the hands of the people. It believes in self-government for the city, in a just and equitable taxation, in the consolidation of city and county administration, and in the public control of the food supply in the interests of the public health and in the highest development of a reasonable public service. At the proper time it will demand these and other things.

We call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for existing evils, nor are they necessarily socialistic institutions. They are to be viewed, rather, as needed palliatives, capable of being carried out even under present conditions. Under no circumstances should the working people rest content with municipal improvements which are merely temporary in their nature and must be entirely inadequate. They should move onward to the conquest of all public powers, to an entire change of the present system for one which shall secure to the people, collectively, the means of production and distribution.

### MAINSPRING OF CORRUPTION.

The mainspring of corruption in municipal affairs is found in the fact that a few aldermen or officials have it in their power to give away or sell franchises to capitalists, who thereby make millions. The temptation thus afforded our public officials, to try to secure a share in the millions thus given away, is too great for the average man to withstand. If the city would operate its public utilities, the motive and the opportunity for bribery would be gone, even if minor evils and breaches of trust might continue, owing to the corrupting influence of the capitalist system, which makes money-getting the sole object of life. The Social Democratic party, therefore, objects to more competition in public utilities; more competition means more corruption.

We look upon the contract system as a similar danger. It constantly induces contractors to bribe city officials on the one hand and to exploit their workmen on the other. Furthermore, it is always in the interests of the city that citizens earn decent wages; therefore, instead of the contractors, the labor unions ought to be encouraged. The city should stand pledged to employ only union labor, at eight hours a day, and should require the same of all contractors doing city work.

### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYED.

The money made out of the city by contractors might better go toward the relief of the unemployed; first, by the improvement of the streets; second, by the establishment of public coal and wood yards and a public icehouse. In this climate ice as is necessary in summer as coal is in winter. These necessities should be sold at cost. The city could easily harvest an abundance of ice during the winter months, thereby employing many citizens, who would otherwise have to receive public aid. For it must not be forgotten that in the midst of "unprecedented Prosperity," in the richest land of the globe and in so beautiful a city as Milwaukee, 1700 families receive public aid this winter. We realize, that giving work to the unemployed can solve no industrial problem, but it is the least that can be done as a humane duty toward those in distress.

Free education is essential to a high civilization. Free books are as much a part of free education as free teachers and free schoolhouses. The Social Democratic party demands, that books and school utensils be furnished free to all pupils attending the public schools.

### THE QUESTION OF TAXES.

This naturally leads us to the question of taxes. The report of Tax Commissioner Brown shows that over $90,000,000 of the property of corporations are not taxed in this city. If these corporations bore their share of taxes figured even at the present valuation—the taxes of all citizens could be reduced 20 per cent. and there would still be over a million and a quarter more every year in the city treasury which could be used for public improvements of all kinds.

### FOR THE PUBLIC WEAL.

Public health also requires more public baths and a system of public street closets such as is found in European cities. Public health also demands an extension of the free medical service. At the present time, many a disease, and even epidemics, get their origin from the fact that poor people shrink from consulting a physician because of the expense, until it is too late.

While we realize that pauperism and prostitution are the legitimate outgrowth of the present system, which submerges the lower stratum of the proletariat, it is well known that certain wealthy citizens derive profit from degradation through the rent of old rookeries, which are a menace both to public morals and the public health. We demand that all slum property be condemned and the ground cleared by the public authorities, and that, where advisable, the spaces so cleared be devoted to open air gymnasiums or for park purposes.

The city ought to afford the protection of the law to such of its citizens as are unable to afford it themselves, by employing (or appointing) a sufficient number of public attorneys, who should conduct just cases of the poor free of cost to them. At present the poor know of the law only when they feel its crushing effect. A poor person with a just cause has no standing in the courts unless some lawyer is promised a big share of the proceeds of the case; if there are no proceeds the poor person has no means of defense at all.

### DEMANDS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In the light of the above facts we make the following demands:

1. That no more franchises for public utilities shall be sold, leased or given away. The city shall take charge as soon as possible of all public utilities now in private hands. The city shall abolish the contract system as far as possible in all public work. Only organized labor shall be employed by the city and that at an eight-hour day. Wherever contract work is unavoidable, the contractors shall be required to employ only organized labor.

2. That the common council shall take the necessary steps to make the big corporations pay their rightful share of municipal taxes.

3. That an earnest effort shall be made by the city to provide work for its unemployed citizens. Besides the improvement of the streets, the city shall maintain a public coal and wood yard and a public icehouse. The coal, wood and ice to be sold to the citizens at cost.

4. That the city shall employ a number of attorneys to conduct just cases for the poor. That the city shall reorganize the system of administering justice in its police court, so that the poor man may be guaranteed the same chance before the law as is enjoyed by the rich.

5. The extension of the free medical service so as to provide two salaried physicians in each ward, who shall treat those applying free of charge. The city also to arrange with druggists who shall compound the prescriptions coming from said city physicians for a certain average compensation which shall be fixed by the board of health and paid for by the city. The city also to provide and maintain a public crematory, which shall be free to those applying.

6. That the city shall erect at least three more public baths for the benefit of the residents of the working districts, one to be built in Bay View, one on the north side and one on the northwest side. The city also to provide a system of street closets, such as found in modern European cities. Plumbing and sewerage in all dwellings to be done by the city at cost, the same to be paid for in yearly installments.

7. That the city shall condemn all slum habitations dangerous to the health of the occupants, and cause their removal in the interests of public morality. The maintenance by the city of public play-grounds, open-air gymnasiums, or parks in their places, where possible.

8. That free school books and adequate school facilities shall be provided. Principals shall be required to devote one-half of their school time to instruction. The large hall in each school building shall be available to residents of the district for public meetings of whatever nature, at such a charge only as shall pay the cost of lighting.

9. That the city shall arrange at least one symphony concert each month during the winter in the largest and most suitable hall to be secured. The admittance fee to such concerts shall be moderate, and should a deficit occur, it shall be paid by the city. In summer concerts to be given in the parks.

10. That the city shall declare a half holiday, on all election days, which shall be compulsory and a penalty shall be exacted from all employers of wage labor who shall ignore the order.

The committee of the London (Eng.) school board makes this remarkable statement: "At times, when there is no special distress, 55,000 children in a state of hunger which makes it useless to attempt to teach them, are in the schools of London alone." Think of it—55,000 children are so hungry, in ordinary times, that their brains are too feeble to hold knowledge! Later, behold 55,000 (minus those killed off by starvation) young men and women with dwarfed souls, stunted bodies, perverted moral natures—among them thousands of hopeless imbeciles and lunatics! Millions for the workhouses, millions for the prisons, millions for asylums; millions for palaces, millions for cannon; but not a shilling for the children with starved bodies and brains!

And let us not pride ourselves on a superior state of things on this side of the ocean. There are thousands and thousands of ill-fed, hungry children in our schools; there are teachers who cannot get their honest dues; there are thousands of mothers scrubbing and slaving a few hours before and a few after their babies' birth. It would be dreadful socialism to help these children or these mothers. It is all right, though, to build speedways and to fatten in all ways the sleek bodies of public thieves.

It is a rotten type of "civilization" as it stands.

**We have postal cards printed for use of the workers in getting new subscribers. Send in your order.**

# A VOICE FROM ENGLAND.

**Masterly Reply to an English Critic by Rev. Thos. McGrady, from Book Published by Standard Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind. Price 10 cents.**

*Father McGrady's Book should be circulated by every Socialist.*

Some weeks ago a friend gave me a pamphlet written by Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S. J., on the subject of "Socialism," which the author denounces as "the crying evil of the age." Father Rickaby is a professor at Stonyhurst, the leading Catholic college in England, and he is considered one of the brightest men among the English Jesuits, and, in virtue of his position, the influence of his pamphlet will be widely felt. It is my duty, therefore, as an honest man, interested in the emancipation of the toiler and the advancement of mankind, to combat the errors of this work that the downtrodden millions might not be led astray by the specious sophistry of the Jesuit. Father Rickaby's pamphlet has a wide circulation, both in England and America, and has been used with great effect in thwarting the growth of Socialism in the ranks of the laboring element. The Catholic Truth society, of Chicago, is publishing the work in this country, and it has been distributed gratis in the churches throughout the United States.

In the opening paragraph the Jesuit admits that the lives and happiness of mankind are more sacred than property. Why, then, does he uphold the right of the capitalist to augment his treasure at the expense of the lives and happiness of mankind? "Let us sit down and count, if we can, the sores of our Lazarus," writes the author. "His food is insufficient; he has been starved from childhood. Short allowance of milk in infancy (2 pennyworth a week among five children), short allowance of meat; food generally innutritious, ill-cooked and unwholesome. From bad food has come an unsound constitution and proneness to disease. His house is a cottage-home, close, fetid, deadly to health and deadly to morality, by reason of overcrowding. His work, when he had any, was unhealthy, done in a tainted atmosphere of dust and steam and effluvia of all sorts, from early dawn to sundown. But now he is out of work; he was shut out at the shortest notice, because his employer had gotten hold of a new contrivance that rendered men unnecessary, and so he was cast adrift, and he has drifted about for months, 'doing odd jobs,' from bad to worse, till now he is within measurable distance of a pauper's grave. Lazarus can read; he has had some education; he can think; and he does think the division of this world's goods between him and Dives desperately unfair."

Yes, Lazarus does think, and I am astonished that the holy Jesuit does not think after admitting the evils enunciated in the above paragraph. It is sad that a representative of the largest and wealthiest religious order in the world should sanction a system of industry which deprives men of a home, and breeds immorality, contagion and death, when he candidly acknowledges that these iniquities flow from the avarice and rapacity of Dives, whom our capitalistic production arms with omnipotence in the degradation of humanity. The Catholic church has 250,000,000 subjects, and four-fifths of them belong to the proletariat, and not more than 1 per cent. can be ranked with the capitalist class. The middle-class is passing out of existence and in a few years more there will be none left on the bloody road but the billionaire and the pauper. It's discouraging and humiliating to see a holy Jesuit, whose interest is allied with the toiling masses, use his influence in the enslavement, starvation, demoralization, degradation and annihilation of 99 per cent. of his church, for the possible protection, aggrandizement and enrichment of 1 per cent.

The Jesuits have always boasted of their superior erudition, but if Father Rickaby's pamphlet on Socialism be a specimen of their culture and learning, their pretensions are absurd and puerile. The reverend gentleman infarms us that Socialism is commendable, if you do not go too far, but "we may have too much of a good thing." Can we have too much grace, too much spirituality, too much intelligence, too many virtues, too much honesty? Socialism does not intend to give us too much co-operation, but just enough. When the co-operative commonwealth is established, and the means of production and distribution are socialized, there will be no more nationalization, for we will have enough to meet all the requirements of society, but not a tittle too much, and any less would not be enough.

Furthermore, Father Rickaby states that modified Socialism must come. "There will be large municipal or communal property, mills, mines, stores, land and particularly workingmen's dwelling houses. Municipal capital will be fairly controlled by the workers. But is this Socialism? No, it is not. Socialism allows of no private capital whatever." If this is not Socialism, I would request the reverend gentleman to define it. The profits in the cases related would be eliminated, and the commodities furnished at cost by the municipal mills, mines, lands, etc., would force the capitalist to abandon his business, and Socialism would become general. The ordinary laborer, who has read a single work on Socialism, can easily discern that a system which produces the comforts and luxuries of life for profit can never survive when brought in conflict with a system established on the basis of production that eliminates all profit and gives the toiler the value of his earnings. This idea is so simple that I cannot conceive how the brilliant mind of a self-apotheosized Jesuit could not comprehend the situation.

The Jesuit endeavors to make a compromise between Socialism and capitalism, as his predecessors, 300 years ago, in the empire of the Celestials, attempted to blend the teachings of Christianity and idolatry, the doctrine of the Nazarene and Confucius, the worship of God and the worship of ancestors. The reverend gentleman knows that Socialism is coming, and he wishes to occupy a position that will enable him to change with the tide of battle and the dawn of victory. When the sons of Loyola entered the land of the Vedas, they donned the garments of the Brahmins and avoided intercourse with the Parias, for the former were the dominant caste and the latter were the dross of Hindoo society. Today capitalism is supreme and Socialism is derided, and the Jesuit fawns at the throne of Mammon and ridicules the aspirations of Lazarus.

In defining Socialism, Father Rickaby says: "The people collectively is sole proprietor, not of all the wealth of the country, but of all the wealth that may lawfully be employed for producing other wealth by means of buying and selling, or other contracts." And this is the gentleman who claims to understand Socialism, and pretends to write a pamphlet in refutation of its theory! Buying and selling does not produce wealth. You may exchange a bag of potatoes 100 times, and it still remains a bag of potatoes. You might sell till the angel of judgment blows his trumpet and you will never add one potato to the bag. It is only labor that produces wealth, and under Socialism there will be no purchases or sales, but exchange of equivalents. "The state will be sole landlord, sole manufacturer, etc.," says Father Rickaby. The state will be nothing and the people will be everything. The collective mass will own and operate the instruments of production. "The utmost vigilance," continues the Jesuit, "will be exercised to prevent (the laborer) from capitalizing his wages." Again the Jesuit displays dense ignorance of the question. Under Socialism there will be no profits, and therefore it will be an absurdity to presume that any man will invest his money in business. The sacerdotal capitalist, seeing the futility of his objections, and the inconsistency of his position, endeavors to blind the unthinking multitude with the impassibility of realizing the ideals of Socialism. He advances the stereotyped phrase of the conservatives who having no arguments to sustain their doctrine of exploitation, cry out in agony and despair: "How are you going to remedy the evils? Socialism is only a dream and cannot be reduced to practice."

Father Rickaby says that we should formulate a plan for the new system of industry before we abolish the old system; and since no Socialist has yet suggested a method which the movement has indorsed, we should adhere to the rotten principles of capitalism. In the first place, if the foundation of capitalism be iniquitous, as I shall prove, we should abolish the system without delay, for by tolerating an evil which we can destroy, we are morally responsible for the evil. Father Rickaby teaches this doctrine, for it is a principle of Catholic theology that we must not tolerate crime, when the power of suppression is at our command. Again, if the principles of Socialism are correct, then their adoption is feasible, for discord can only arise when we attempt to form a syncretistic system, such as harmonizing the claims of labor and capitalism, which is founded on the presumption that justice and robbery, freedom and slavery, love and hatred, poverty and riches, humanity and brutality, are identical.

Several writers on Socialism have suggested feasible plans for the practical application of Socialistic principles, and when the sun of the Co-operative Commonwealth sends its golden beams of light from the gates of the Orient, the people will adopt the method which seems the best suited for the conditions that shall then exist. Socialism is yet in the state of childhood, and it is useless for the organization to propose a plan which cannot be executed till the party is in power. Lawrence Gronland has proposed a working plan, one that will answer every requirement, and the Socialists could easily adopt the suggestions outlined in "The Co-operative Commonwealth." When the renowned philosophers of Ancient Greece were expending the wealth of their mental power and learning in solving the problem of life and the perplexing questions of the soul, there came on the stage a class of men who possessed a superficial culture, but with pretensions to universal knowledge. Tennemann says that these Sophists were anxious to promote their own advantage. "All they desired was to distinguish themselves. With this view they had contrived certain logical tricks of a kind to perplex their antagonists." (Hist. of Phil. p. 82). We have the same class of people today, the Sophists begotten in the class struggle, the advocates of capitalistic supremacy, a class of soidisant philosophers, who never attempt to defend their own theories, but resort to chicanery to blind workingmen to the evils of the industrial system and perplex the inquirer with objections to the practicability of Socialism. I have no hesitancy in averring that Father Rickaby is a sophist par excellence, for he does not answer a single argument advanced by Karl Marx and the disciples of his school. The Jesuit gives an illustration of the strength of his position, but fails to accomplish his purpose, and shows unmistakable evidence that a man who presumes to discuss a question which he does not understand, is capable of the most glaring puerilities.

On pages 6 and 7 he says that a father and five sons are living at Yarmouth, in the year one of the Co-operative Commonwealth. They have a boat and catch herrings, which they barter for other commodities, and thus you have men who are independent producers. Again, with their profits they purchase another boat, and employ hirelings to work for them, and "lo, the capitalist!" But the Jesuit is laboring under a sad hallucination. Wages will be measured according to labor-time. The community has a large fishing boat, employing one hundred men, who catch ten thousand pounds of fish in a day, which amounts to one hundred pounds per person. The Yarmouth men catch only fifty pounds of fish in a day, which is less than ten pounds per person; and where they make one dollar, the men in the large boat will make ten dollars. Don't you think, Rev. Father, that the Yarmouth fishermen would soon abandon their little boat and get into the big boat where their efforts will be rewarded one thousand fold? Again, the Yarmouth men could not employ hirelings when they offer only 10 per cent. of the remuneration given to those in the service of the community, for the hirelings, wishing to ameliorate their condition, would seek employment in the big boat. The Jesuit has overlooked the essential difference between Socialistic and capitalistic production.

In one case, articles are produced for consumption, whereas in the other, articles are produced for profit. The capitalist vanishes with the elimination of profits, which are based on the exploitation of labor. Let us presume that the expense of fitting out the fishing expedition, including coal, wear of machinery, etc., would amount to $200 per day; and each fisherman in the big boat catches 100 pounds of fish per day. The value of the fish, we will presume, is 10 cents per pound. This would make the product of each man's labor $10 per day. Deducting the $2 which each must pay for expenses, etc., from the sum, the fisherman has $8 for his day's labor. Under capitalistic production, the employer gives the hireling $2 for his services, and pockets the other $6. Under Socialism, the employe will get $8, for there will be no profits; and the hireling will not work for the Yarmouth men for 50 cents per day, when the community offers him $8; and the father, with his five sons, will cast Jesuitical sophistry to the winds, and crawl into the big boat. Rev. Rickaby continues: "The surgeon and schoolmaster have no work to take to their guild; who then shall remunerate them." Who pays the teacher in our public institutions today? The community.

Under Socialism, the physician will be employed by the public just as the professor in our free institutions of learning at the present time. There will be a public hospital in every town and city, and a number of physicians will be selected to administer to the patients, who will be brought to these institutions where they will enjoy the advantages of the very best medical treatment, and by this method mortality will be reduced at least 80 per cent. Patients, who cannot be removed to the hospitals, will be treated by a physician deputed by the superintendent of the medical staff. Under Socialism the object of the medical profession will be the eradication of disease; whereas today the public health is sacrificed to the god of Mammon. Adulteration is practiced in every line of business, and the druggists are forced by the law of competition to adopt the same nefarious methods. It is impossible to procure wholesome food, and every day we are absorbing poisonous substances which eventuate in the destruction of our digestive organs, the debilitation of our system, and hasten decay and death. The remedies prescribed by medical attendants frustrate the purposes of the profession and inoculate the patient with the germs of disease. Why does the practice of adulteration prevail universally? Because adulteration reduces the cost of the article, and augments the profits of the dealer. Eliminate the profits, and pure food and pure medicine will be given to the public, and the health of the nation will be restored to its pristine vigor. Under the present system, the physician prolongs a case for the sake of increasing his fees. Again he fails to seek consultation, for he knows that such a procedure will arouse suspicion and his ability would be questioned, and his practice will be diminished. I have known many cases, where physicians, impelled by this fear, have delayed consultation until it was too late. Under Socialism, the physician will seek the advice of the profession in every important case. There will be daily meetings of the profession, and the physicians will relate the nature of the cases that have fallen under their observation, and the general opinion of the body will be obtained.

## The Climax of Vulgar Snobbery.

A wedding feast in New York "society" involved the expenditure of $400,000. The vulgar, cruel, appalling waste of this triumph of snobbery makes one ask himself in amazement what sort of a world these people think they live in. Do they never ask themselves by what right they are allowed to cast away, to destroy, to profligately squander in orgies of ostentatious barbarism, the wealth that should feed thousands of hungry children; that should clothe and house and maintain the millions who, though they have produced it, live more meanly than the beasts of the field?

Four hundred thousand dollars for a wedding feast! And these are the class of people who preach "thrift" to the dissolute lower orders! It was to such extravagance that Mr. Jerome referred when he described the New York "four hundred" as the "silk stocking brigade," who "neglect the duties of citizenship in order to enjoy disgusting pleasure." He told them that the poor people who live in tenement houses are better citizens than the millionaires who spend their time between New York and Newport, and who made him blush by their doings. "It is true," he exclaimed, "that they want reforming, but not half as badly as you do. It is you who need to be roused; you who have an understanding and yet do not use it; you who think only of personal pleasure. You break every moral law."

## The Yellow Coreans.

Those who cherished the hope that under Japanese and Russian influence the Coreans would cease to be semi-barbarians cannot but be cast down by the news which comes from Seoul. Trolley cars run through the streets of Corea's capital; the King's palace is equipped with elevators and electric lights; the people burn Standard oil in their lamps and dine upon Chicago canned beef when they can afford it, and the American sewing machine's cheerful whirr relieves the tedium of the harem.

But civilization is not made up altogether of improved mechanical appliances and canned beef, to all of which the Coreans take kindly enough, His Majesty himself having set the example of riding the bicycle. It is the inability of these strange people to grasp our moral ideas and to imitate the beneficent spirit in which our laws are administered that discourages.

The discovery has been made that within the past six years not less than 10,000,000 yen have been embezzled by Corean government officials. Ye Yo Yok, a heathen, and also minister of finance, has advised the King to put to death all officials who stole more than 2000 yen, and his royal master is taking this advice.

A country in which the big thief is hanged and the little thief has mercy shown him at once astounds and alarms.

The incapacity of the pagan Coreans for self-government and their need for an army of occupation and benevolent assimilation by either Japan or Russia will impress itself upon every Christian in America who helps to advance civilization by means of a trust and the endowment of colleges.

The Coreans are positively "yellow."—The Chicago American.

## The Irrepressible Conflict.

Capital is nothing but the product of labor. Under conditions of economic justice there can be no quarrel between capital and labor; for why should a man quarrel with the product of his own hands? Capital of itself has no inventive or creative genius; no power except that of exploiting labor; and no rights as against labor which creates it. And yet labor, having created this golden calf of capital, often bows down and worships it.

Why is there any conflict between labor and capital today? Simply because capital which is the product of labor has been taken away from labor and is being used to degrade and enslave the very labor which created it; this is the germ of the conflict between capital and labor.

The interests of the capitalist class and the working class, the exploiting and the exploited, are not identical. The capitalist class demands an ever-increasing share of the product of labor. Fifty years ago the workingman received 50 per cent. of his product; today he gets a little more than 20 per cent. The working class demands the full product of its toil. These two demands can never be harmonized, for between justice and injustice there is no common denominator.

Samuel Gompers and Mark Hanna may clasp each other's hands in peace conferences, and Bishop Potter and Archbishop Ireland may rub their ecclesiastical noses together, but the irrepressible conflict must go on till the last vestige of exploitation is swept away, and capital, which was created by the working class, shall belong to the working class that created it.—Dr. H. A. Gibbs.

## Enlightened the Lawyer.

"I presume, my good fellow, you're a laborer?" said a lawyer to a plainly-dressed witness.

"You are right. I am a workman, sir," replied the witness who was a civil engineer.

"Familiar with the use of the pick, shovel and spade, I presume?"

"To some extent. Those are not the principal implements of my trade, though."

"Perhaps you will condescend to enlighten me as to your principal implements?"

"It is hardly worth while. You don't understand their nature or use."

"Probably not," loftily, "but I insist on knowing what they are."

"Brains."—London Tid-Bits.

The city of Richmond, Ind., will try the experiment of municipal electric lighting, and now has under construction a $150,000 plant. It will probably be ready within three months. The private contract for street lighting does not run out until 1904, but the city will enter at once upon domestic and commercial lighting, and will take up the street work when the contract expires. The private company is endeavoring to stop the city by means of an injunction suit.

# The Socialization of Art.

*Oscar L. Triggs in International Socialist Review.*

Through the attainment in the present age of a large art consciousness it is no longer possible to justify the phrase "Art for art's sake." The proposition "Art for truth's sake" is equally void, since it represents but a partial inclusion of the modern consciousness. Nothing less than "Art for life's sake" will satisfy the requirements of democracy. But if art is now to be subdued to human uses it must give up that independence it has enjoyed through centuries of privilege and assume the pains and responsibilities of the social order. The socialization of art involves, in short, two processes—a reduction of specialization and an increase in the general sense for unity.

It occurs to me that in the history of "Exposition" building in this country we have an apt illustration of the growth of a social consciousness in respect to art forms. Our three expositions represent so many phases of the evolution of a true art spirit. The directors of the Centennial exposition took for their motto, "Art for Truth's Sake." That exposition was an exhibition only. Instruction was the guiding motive. It was a show primarily of the world's products. Little was given to beauty for itself and the feeling of unity was altogether lacking. The architecture was neither beautiful in itself nor did it subserve function.

The World's fair at Chicago was primarily a spectacle, the exhibition idea being held somewhat in abeyance. "Art for art's sake" would very nearly describe the effect of the array of structures. What was wanting was the principle of function and the conception of a true unity. The fundamental error and the first violation of function was the choice of the classic style for the architecture. The phrase "The World's Fair," conveys to the mind the idea of a holiday. An excursion to a world's exposition represents a lyric moment thrust in between the incidents of business and worldly cares. The time is a play-spell—one is in the holiday mood, not seeking to be edified alone, or alone to be moved by a spectacle of beauty, but to be free and festive even. Grecian architecture, perfect for Grecian uses, is almost meaningless when set down on a level plain by an inland Western lake—altogether meaningless when forming an arena for a democratic people on holiday. Between the rigid and severe simplicity of the classic styles and the essential sentiment of a "fair" there is no possible reconciliation. "The White City" made a beautiful "show." And as a "show" it was enjoyed and approved. But it stopped far short of unity since it was not built with primary reference to the people. Instead it was built timidly and negatively, in actual fear and distrust of the people. The fair would have been beautiful the same—if there had been no one to behold it. It derived nothing of its meaning from the people who were present; the people saw nothing of themselves reflected in the fair.

The third of our great expositions, the Pan-American at Buffalo, showed a striking advance upon all previous conceptions and approximated a perfect socialism. Its primary purpose was sociological—the purpose, that is, of creating a festal scene appropriate to a people on holiday. Based on this elementary fact of function the exposition carried out the same principle throughout its entire structural scheme.

To indicate the nature of the particular enterprise a Spanish renaissance style was adopted for the architecture—a style that lends itself admirably to festivity and admits a lavish use of color and ornamentation. Architecturally the exposition converged toward the electric tower, which, with its suggestion of Niagara, was naturally the focus of all paths.

The principle of socialization was perhaps most apparent in the coloring. For the coloring was not independent but, so to speak, sociological. The color scheme, extending from south to north, typified the advance of civilization from barbarism to culture, the primary colors at the beginning denoting the barbaric stages, as the milder tints of the central buildings pointed to the intellectualization of mankind.

There were two exceptions to this order. The electric fountain, having come to the dignity of a "fine art" (that is, an independent art), could not be socialized and was therefore banished to an island by itself. The other exception was strangely the government building of the "United" States. For some reason the government would not be socialized and hence this building stood as an excellent illustration of the fact that our present governmental forms pertain to a condition of society the people themselves have outgrown. One is reminded of Emerson's saying: "The good man must not obey the laws too well."

The sculpture, of which there were some five hundred pieces, also formed an integral part of the plan. The sculpture, like the color, told the story of civilization. There were three series, each conveying a distinct historic progression: the story of man, the story of nature, and the story of industry. Besides these main histories the groups at the tower revealed the history of the subjugation of Niagara, which is indeed almost the most splendid story of human achievement. Each building had its own appropriate symbols in addition to those which served the general scheme.

Altogether the exposition disclosed in the clearest possible way the manner in which an individual may live his own life and yet maintain a place in a general harmony. In fact this was to me the chief lesson to be learned from the "Rainbow City." The entire spectacle, moreover, took meaning from the people and the people recognized at every turn their own history.

# The Class Struggle.

**News of the Labor Movement Throughout the World.**

All the coke workers of Pennsylvania are to have their wages reduced. Ditto the textile workers of New England.

There are now two national farmers' unions and there is strong rivalry between them to bring the farm laborers into the family of trade unionism.

A printers' technical journal says a type-setting machine is coming which will set six different kinds of type with little trouble. It may also set display type for advertisements.

Job printers of Denver have set the pace for their brethren by securing the eight-hour day within about a year. The movement will doubtless become general among the job men.

The census of the unemployed in Berlin, taken February 2, indicates that so far as the count has proceeded there are 75,000 persons totally without employment and about 40,000 partially unemployed.

The miners voted to make May 17 a general holiday to be known as "Anti-Injunction Day." They request that unionists everywhere take up the suggestion and organize demonstrations against the courts.

The workingmen of New York will not forget John Swinton, lately deceased. The Central Federated union appointed a committee to see that a suitable monument is erected, and the city will be asked to donate a site for a shaft.

Plasterers employed on a twenty-five-story building in Pittsburg, Pa., struck recently against walking up and down stairs in their own time and were granted one hour's pay per day for the time thus occupied.

The tube and pipe mill workers will shortly be organized in a national union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A convention for that purpose will meet at Pittsburg, Pa., on March 10.

The Hartford Carpet Co-operation at Thompsonville, Conn., has refused to accede to the demands of the striking dyers for the reinstatement of a discharged dyer and an advance in wages from 12½ cents an hour to 15 cents. Over 300 hands are idle.

Labor and time-saving machinery are being introduced into the mills of the Billion Dollar Steel Trust, whereby one laborer at $1.50 per day in wages can do three times the work of four skilled mechanics who now receive $6 to $8 each for eight hours' work.

Working people in certain districts in England are now enabled to have a slot machine established in their homes whereby they can have the use of a sixteen candle power light or two eight candle power lights for four hours by dropping 2 cents in the slot.

The Russian government assumed control of the liquor traffic of that country. A cork trust was thereupon formed for the purpose of making the government pay exorbitant prices for corks. But the government promptly established cork factories of its own, and is now entirely independent of the private cork concerns.

There's a bill before the New York Legislature to provide a night school to teach printers and lithographers their business. The journeymen are not sure that they like the idea a little bit. They claim the bosses want to flood the market with workers in order to hammer down wages.

The tobacco trust has absorbed the Cubanos y Carvajal concern, the largest concern in Cuba, which controls factories and plantations, and is said to be dickering with the Tobacco Universal combine to perfect a world's monopoly of the best raw material as well as much of the finished product.

The motormen and conductors on the Camden and Suburban railway at Camden, N. J., are again asking for an increase in wages, and a committee of the men will shortly wait on the proper officials and present their claims. The men claim that they are the poorest paid of any trolley men in that section of the country.

All the mills of the American Woolen company at Olneyville, R. I., were closed for an indefinite period on February 1 because the weavers in the Weybosset and Riverside mills, antagonistic to the double loom system, endeavored to precipitate a general strike. Over 5000 operatives are thrown out of employment.

An ingenious labor-saving machine, which will completely revolutionize the occupation of some of the jewelers, has been devised by a Birmingham (England) man. Finger rings can be manufactured almost instantaneously. The process is so simple that it can be worked by a boy or girl, each of which can displace four skilled men and do much more work.

There will probably be no trouble in the soft coal mining district this year, the miners and operators having come to an agreement. Last year's scale will prevail. There is not so much assurance in the anthracite region. The workers want the eight-hour day, recognition of the union and other concessions. They are well organized and determined.

A strike on the entire Northern Pacific system is likely as the result of a strike of switchmen in the local yards at Missoula, Mont., who quit because two of their number were discharged for refusing to work with a road engine that was not supplied with a sideboard attachment as demanded by a state law. The conductors and brakemen refuse to handle trains not made up by the regular yard crews.

The strike of the Keystone (Pa.) Lock works, because eight union men were discharged, is no nearer settlement now than at any time since it began, three months ago, and nearly half of the strikers are still unemployed. They claim that a blacklist persecution is being kept up against them, they having been refused work in a number of leading industrial establishments of Lancaster after it was learned that they had struck at the Keystone works.

A man at West Pittston, Pa., has invented a coal chute that abolishes the men on the cars. It consists of a pair of manganese bronze troughs and can be easily extended or shortened, and a forty-ton car may be loaded in one-half the time required by the old method and with little manual labor. The chute can also be used to load grain on any deck of a vessel, and shovelers are not needed. The coal trust will use the new appliance; the dock combines also.

The lockout in the five mills of the American Woolen company at Olneyville, due to a strike of 150 weavers against the so-called double loom system, was followed by a general sympathetic strike of the weavers, numbering about 2000. The lockout began February 3, and was unexpectedly taken by the company in anticipation of a general strike set for a later date. The weaving departments in the National, Providence, Riverside, Manton and Weybosset mills are practically idle.

The American Hide & Leather company, better known as the leather trust, filed a statement of withdrawal from Ohio with the secretary of state. The concern is a New Jersey corporation with a capital stock of $35,000,000. The Ohio office was in Cincinnati. The company in the future will sell from the home office at Jersey City and through traveling agents. The company was admitted to do business in this state December 1, 1899. Its present action is ascribed by some to the taxation measures pending in the Legislature against corporations.

The "reform crowd in possession of the governing powers of New York is rapidly falling into disrepute with labor. One trade after another has been turned down. The latest workers to receive the wooden ear are the street railway men. They requested the prince of "reformers," District Attorney Jerome, to enforce the ten-hour law, which the corporations were flagrantly violating. The men were compelled to camp on the great Jerome's doorstep, so to say, for four weeks before he would deign to notice them. Then he actually condescended to instruct an underling to "investigate" what everybody knows is a most brazen case of outlawry.

A report to this paper from Washington states that the Chinese exclusion bill has not the smooth sailing that was expected when Congress met, and that certain senators and representatives who professed great antipathy for coolie labor now talk vaguely about "the injustice of barring out oppressed and honest foreign labor." Powerful influences are at work, and it is highly probable that the "Six Companies" of San Francisco, the secret Chinese societies of Chicago and New York, the railroad corporations, the Southern planters, the iron and steel and mining capitalists and others who want cheap labor are working together in harmony.

## Secretary Morrison in Milwaukee.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, was in Milwaukee during the early part of the week, not, as was reported, to discuss the question of politics in the Federated Trades' council, but to acquaint himself with the general labor affairs in this locality. Referring to the recent visit of Organizer McLean, he repudiated the latter's tactics while in this city and said it was no part of McLean's business to pursue the course he had in antagonizing those in the labor organizations who happen to be Socialists and that he had no authority to do so.

## Crime in New York.

The Brooklyn Eagle says that during last year $6,500,000 of property has been stolen in New York city, $1,651,510 has been paid by banks and stores for special protection, $4,524,000 has been paid for private watchmen and detectives, and the city has paid $11,938,342 for its police force. This makes a total of nearly $25,000,000. Crime has increased in ten years. In that time burglary has increased 113 per cent., while the population has increased only 35 per cent. There have been 231 murders, 503 robberies, 3472 larcenies and 1513 burglaries during the past year.

## Environment and Ethics.

The influence of association and environment is far-reaching. Russians have a saying that "who lives with cripples learns to limp." The Spanish version is "Who lives with wolves learns to howl." The same idea is expressed, less figuratively, in the proverb, "He that lies down with dogs will rise up with fleas." Character, like a plant, depends very much upon the soil and atmosphere in which it grows. Hard conditions produce warped and stunted characters. To improve man's conduct, therefore, improve his social environment. This is the scientific, the common-sense method. The economic structure of society at any given time forms its real basis, and explains, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of social relations.

Our ethical teachers, our moralists, our theologians and philosophers are painfully slow to grasp the great truth that the development of man's moral, mental and spiritual nature is largely dependent upon his material prosperity. A mind harassed and haunted by the uncertainties of the average man's condition can think of little but its own cares and troubles. Long hours, short wages and uncertain tenure of employment are not conducive to the development of mental, spiritual and social graces. The intellectual and moral faculties may be repressed, stunted and paralyzed by incessant toil and physical exhaustion. One cannot preserve a healthy, vigorous development and activity of mind in an insufficiently nurtured body. "An empty sack cannot stand erect." There are toilers who get so little time for thinking that they have almost or quite "forgotten how the trick is done." At best they grow to dread and shirk mental exertion until they relapse almost to the animal plane of existence. "Men housed like pigs can hardly pray like Christians." Our abnormally crowded cities; to which satisfied conservatism so often points with pride, are festering social ulcers.

A soldier, on being reproved by Wellington for some dereliction, reminded the "Iron Duke" that "you can't hire all the cardinal virtues at $7 a month." The soldier's reply hints at a great philosophic truth. Our economic system in large measure determines our moral status. Every period of "hard times" is marked as a natural sequence, by an increase of immorality and crime, particularly of those offenses by which wealth is to be won. Likewise, the annually recurring phenomenon of a great increase during the winter months of theft, prostitution and other offenses, prompted wholly or partly by want, clearly shows that necessity, rather than choice, is responsible, directly or indirectly, for a large proportion of humanity's wickedness and woe.—Alfred Martin Colwick in the Arena.

# SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

## City Central Committee.

The city central committee met on Monday evening, February 17, and transacted considerable business. Comrade Blodgett acted as chairman of the evening. The roll call showed a very good attendance. The applications for membership in the party were from all parts of the city. The organizer reported the organization of a branch in the Fifth ward with fifteen members and a branch in the Sixth ward with a membership of eighteen, while a branch has been formed in the town of Milwaukee. The town of Milwaukee branch will hold a meeting on Wednesday evening, February 26, at Zanger's hall, corner of Eleventh and Finn streets. All comrades are asked to attend and make the meeting a success.

The different committees appointed to carry out the work of the party in various lines reported invariably that progress was being made in every direction. The Fair committee in particular made a very encouraging report. The committee reported donations had been received amounting to many hundred dollars, and every indication pointed to a great success in the holding of the Fair. The committee desires the assistance of some comrades to assist in placing the different booths in position. This work will begin on Sunday evening at 11 o'clock, and it is hoped that all who can will turn out and assist.

On motion the campaign committee was asked to hold a meeting on Thursday, February 20.

Comrade Victor L. Berger explained the manner of selecting candidates for the ward offices and the necessity of being particular in all the conditions required by the election laws.

On motion a supply of nomination paper blanks were ordered to be printed.

The committee in charge of the entertainment of December 8 made a final report showing that the sum of $118.70 had been realized.

The matter of interesting the Polish working people of the city in the Socialist movement was discussed at some length, and on motion 300 copies of Father McGrady's book in Polish was ordered and further empowered the campaign committee to engage a competent Polish speaker for service in the approaching campaign.

The reports in the city press in which the Social Democratic party was said to be in favor of endorsing one or another of the capitalist nominees was thought to be of enough importance that it should be corrected, and on motion a committee was appointed to set the matter right in the eyes of the public.

The matter of nominating a candidate for judge was taken up and it seemed the general opinion that such a step would do a great deal to preserve the discipline of the party, and on motion the campaign committee was directed to issue a call for a judicial convention for the purpose of nominating a candidate for judge.

On account of the amount of business before the central committee at its meetings at present it was thought well by the delegates that the committee should meet every Monday in the month of March, and on motion it was so ordered.

There being no other business the committee adjourned to meet on the first Monday evening in March.

EUGENE H. ROONEY,
Secretary.

## Social Democratic Forum.

One of the most interesting of the Forum meetings was held last Sunday night, when Mr. J. R. Howe, editorial writer on the Daily News, read a suggestive and thoughtful paper on the "Origin of Populism," bringing out the potent influence of the farming element in that movement. He also showed the relation of the farmers to the present Socialist movement and urged the necessity of securing support from the agricultural class. On this point he said:

"It is generally assumed that Socialism can make little headway among the farmers as a class. It will depend largely upon the way Socialism is presented to the farmer, whether or not it appeals to him. There is no reason why the farmer should oppose public ownership of those industries that have been so thoroughly organized that the owners have been entirely eliminated as factors of production. Public ownership appeals as strongly to the farmer as it does to the laboring man. The logical conclusion—the ultimate end—of Socialism may seem far removed and difficult of attainment, but it is an ideal that should not repel him. He may find it difficult to conceive a state in which every industry is operated under public ownership, but if Socialism is presented to him as an evolutionary movement that is not going to overturn things in a day; that it will proceed step by step, and that it is as impossible to state what its ultimate methods will be as it would have been for the contemporaries of Tubal Cain to have pictured the evolution from the anvil to the mighty forges of the modern steel mill, he should be open to its appeals as are other men. But if the discussion of Socialism were to center in the method of conducting peanut stands and barber shops under the Cooperative Commonwealth, it is improbable that the farmer or any considerable number of other persons would be brought to see that salvation lies in abolishing private capital.

"The farmer is not much given to dreaming. Life is stern and life is real to him. He will insist on 'immediate demands' and rest content to let it be determined by the natural course of events how far the socialization of the means of production and distribution shall proceed. With 'immediate demands' to appeal to his self-interest and the general scheme of Socialism to appeal to his intellect and to satisfy his ideals, being made to realize that what he heretofore has conceived to be remedies are merely palliatives, the farmer should be as open to the Socialist propaganda as any other class of producers—especially the farmer that gave support to the demands of the Populist party.

"It seems to be taken for granted that Socialism will make no appeal to the farmer because he is the owner of the tools which he employs. It might not be expedient, nor would it be warranted by the natural tendency of the Socialist movement in this country, to insist that the first move to be made would be to deprive him of the ownership of his land and tools and vest it in the community or state. Whatever Socialism may do or may not do should it secure control of the political affairs of the nation, it is obvious that it would deal with the more pressing problems first. And paradoxical as it may seem, the conditions in our industrial life that are pressing on labor also are pressing heavily upon the farmer. He can perceive that the monopolizing of the manufacturing industries of the country is as much to his injury as to the injury of labor. There is no reason why he should not be made to see that 'smashing the trusts,' if he does not now see it, offers no remedy, and that 'control and regulation' is illusory. And when Socialism has proceeded far enough to include the manufacturing industries and the means of distribution, if it works all the benefits that its advocates contend, the farmer may be expected to be the most insistent in urging that the work be completed by bringing him wholly under its operation.

"It is, of course, essential to the success of Socialism as a political movement national in scope, that it secure support from the agricultural classes. If it cannot secure it one way, it will be obliged to secure it through other means. Experience will suggest the best course to pursue, if such a course is not taken at the outset."

Next Sunday night Dr. E. W. Krackowitzer will speak on "Socialistic Evolution."

## Sale of Fair Tickets.

Since our last report the fair committee has received from the persons named the following amounts for tickets sold:

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously acknowledged | $138.10 |
| T. C. Holler, Albion, Idaho | 1.20 |
| Mrs. L. Sachs, city | 1.80 |
| Mrs. Hunger, city | 5.00 |
| George Luell, city | 1.20 |
| John Luell, city | 1.20 |
| H. Kalbert, city | 1.20 |
| F. Boness, city | 1.20 |
| R. Meister, city | 1.20 |
| Mrs. Luchsinger, city | 1.60 |
| Mrs. Kranzfelder, city | 5.00 |
| Arthur Schwalbe, city | 1.20 |
| William Kolz, city | 1.20 |
| F. Wuethrich, city | 1.20 |
| M. N. Lando, St. Paul, Minn. | 1.20 |
| Richard L. Schmidt, city | 1.20 |
| Joseph Buchel | 2.40 |
| Charles Maner, city | 1.20 |
| J. L. Adams, Bangor, Me. | 1.20 |
| A. R. McDonald, Tomahawk, Wis. | 1.20 |
| Paul Otto, Rockville, Conn. | 1.20 |
| Frank Wuechtler, city | 1.20 |
| August P. Conrad, city | 1.20 |
| Frank A. Schuler, Muskegon, Mich. | 1.20 |
| Albert F. Schwahn, Eau Claire, Wis. | 1.20 |
| J. R. Beckwith, Essex, Mont. | 1.20 |
| Ladislaw Skoda, Pullman | 1.20 |
| M. J. Schnorr, Two Rivers, Wis. | 1.20 |
| Chas. H. Vail, Jersey City, N. J. | 1.20 |
| Rosenthal Bros., New York, N.Y. | 1.20 |
| S. Farrington, Hopedale, Mass. | 1.20 |
| H. H. Hamilton, Columbus, Wis. | .12 |
| J. Hagen, Elmira, N. Y. | .20 |
| P. Andersen, Chicago, Ill. | .20 |
| Otto Knudert, Monroe, Wis. | 2.40 |
| S. H. Wynn, Philadelphia, Pa. | .10 |
| W. E. Aldridge, city | 2.80 |
| Jas. M. Cox, Jacksonville, Ill. | 1.00 |
| Paul Stein, city | 1.20 |
| Louis Kropp, Eau Claire Wis. | .40 |
| Miss Jurdine Raggio, Waukesha, Wis. | 1.00 |
| Wm. Olmersorge, New Bedford, Mass. | 2.40 |
| E. H. Vuppel, Cincinnati, O. | .50 |
| M. Eltholz, city | .50 |
| Dr. Moses Stearn, Philadelphia | .20 |
| Charles Unger, Philadelphia | .10 |
| A. E. Schuttenhelm, Cincinnati | 1.20 |
| Mrs. Howe, Jamaica Plain, Mass. | .10 |
| Ada M. Morley, Datil, N. M. | 1.18 |
| Salvator M. D'Allesande, Hartford, Conn. | 1.20 |
| Wm. Tomely, Berlin, Wis. | 1.20 |
| E. S. Hugill, Soldiers' Home | .30 |
| T. F. Rainsthal, city | 1.00 |
| G. Hartman, city | 1.20 |
| H. Zeus, city | 1.20 |
| Mrs. G. Koegel, city | 1.20 |
| Henry Freitag, city | .50 |
| E. Cornelle, city | 1.20 |
| George Bartels, city | 1.20 |
| George Mueller, city | 1.20 |
| Peter Zall, city | 1.20 |
| F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, N. J. | 1.20 |
| F. Zeidlbach, city | .60 |
| | $214.10 |

## Socialist News.

Maine gained three locals during January.

Kentucky comrades will hold state convention at Newport on March 16.

The Fifth ward branch has begun active propaganda and the members are enthusiastic.

Kansas has 35 locals and 163 members in good standing. City elections will be held on April 4, 1902.

Montana Socialists have completed state organization and located state headquarters at Helena.

Twenty cigarmakers of Oneida, N. Y., were blacklisted for no other reason than that they are Socialists.

The Dublin United Trades and Labor council voted to support the candidates of the Socialist party of Ireland.

John C. Chase will lecture in Indiana from February 15 to 22. He will also lecture in Missouri during February.

Illinois in December had 25 locals and 970 members in good standing. Elections for city officers will be held on April 8, 1902.

A bill introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature by Comrade McCurtney to repeal the Sunday fishing law was defeated by a vote of 100 to 80.

Charles H. Vail lectured in sixteen cities in New York state during January. Comrade and Mrs. Vail are now lecturing in the cities of Massachusetts.

Local charters have been issued to Rigby, Idaho; Kingston, Utah; Ogden, Utah; Lengby, Minn.; St. Hilaire, Minn.; Hendrum, Minn.; Ada, Minn.; Elsinore, Utah, and Eldred, Minn.

The Sixth ward has a new branch with an active list of members. The meetings are held at Schreiber's hall, Fourth and Sherman streets. There will be a meeting tonight, February 22.

It is reported in a Manchester, N. H., paper that F. G. R. Gordon has resigned from the Socialist party because he considered the spirit and methods of the party too narrow and sectarian.

Nineteenth ward branch mass meeting next Wednesday, February 26, at Meixner's hall, corner Twenty-seventh and Vliet streets. English and German speakers will be present. Everybody invited.

A bonafide Socialist party is being formed in New Zealand. The Trades' council of Christchurch endorsed the movement and voted to become a branch, and the new party is rapidly spreading among the organized workers.

Comrade Bienko of Kokomo, Ind., has challenged a preacher of that city to a discussion on Socialism. The reverend gentleman has insisted on opposing Socialism from his pulpit but has ignored every challenge made to him.

The Socialists have gained a seat in the Reichstag. Grunenberg has been elected at Dobeln with 11,714 votes. This is probably in consequence of the proposed taxes on food, and the Socialist strength in the Reichstag is now 58 votes.

A recent number of the Robotnik (the Worker), the party organ of the Socialists in Russian Poland, which is secretly printed somewhere in Poland, shows that there have been many arrests in Warsaw and Lodz, and that some of the Socialists have been exiled to Siberia, "banished by proclamation."

To urge the government to pass a universal suffrage bill, the Socialists at Brussels prepared a big demonstration, which ended in a riot. They formed a procession and proceeded to the Parliament building. During the demonstration there the police and garde civique began to disperse the paraders and a fight ensued.

A national referendum of the Socialist party on a scale of considerable magnitude will be taken before April 1 in forty-five states and territories on proposed amendment to article 6, section 4, of the national constitution and on party emblem. Six hundred circular letters of instruction, 12,000 membership ballots, and 1000 recording secretary's return cards have been sent from national headquarters to all state secretaries and to local secretaries in unorganized states.

Secretary Greenbaum's report for January shows that there was received at headquarters during the month $434.71 and expended $370.90, leaving a balance on hand January 31 of $63.81. During the same period state charters were issued to New Hampshire and Oklahoma. Local charters were issued to Yuma, Ariz.; Hennessey, Okla.; Burlington, Vt.; Burke, Emmett and St. Anthony, Idaho; Minneapolis, Scandiah and Spring Valley, Minn.

## Terre Haute Strike.

The early part of January Executive Board Member Pratt was called to Terre Haute to assist the organization there in straightening out their difficulty with the company. When he arrived there he found that the company had sought to get one of the men to betray the organization. He had refused, and the company had discharged him. In connection with this the company had also put into effect a graded scale of wages, which was published in last month's journal, and the system known as the merit system, covering a period of ten years. He also found the company in trouble with other organizations. The firemen had demanded an eight-hour work day, but this the company had refused, although the adoption of the eight-hour work day would have reduced the operating expenses of the company, so far as the firemen were concerned, 19 cents on the day. He also found that they were making war upon the electricians, and that by these organizations they were declared unfair. After over a week's hard work with the company he was unable to get any settlement of the case of the discharged man.

Following this the Central Labor union of Terre Haute placed the company on the unfair list and called upon all union men to cease to operate or patronize the company. In connection with this demand, the organization has presented to the company an agreement covering wages and other conditions, which they demand shall be signed before they return to work. Reports from there show that they have the entire support of the organized labor of the community, and all feel confident that sooner or later the company will have to concede to the demands of organized labor.

Organized labor of Terre Haute and vicinity made a great demonstration against the company February 8, when a mass meeting was addressed by Eugene V. Debs and W. D. Mahon, president of the street car employes of America.

















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James Lambert, Socialist Temple, 120 S. Western avenue, Chicago, Ill.
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## Branch Meetings.

FIRST WARD BRANCH MEETS the second and fourth Monday in each at 836 North Water street. Carl phal, Secretary.

SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every third Friday of the month, Fourth and Chestnut streets. Hunger, secretary.

THIRD WARD BRANCH MEETS the second Thursday evening of month at 614 State street.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets first and third Thursday of the at southeast corner Reed street National avenue.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH (for 43) holds free lectures at the hall ner Fourth avenue and Mineral every second and fourth Thursday 8 p. m.

NINTH WARD BRANCH meets first and third Tuesday of the at John Heyman's, 453 Eleventh Henry Bruhn, 2021 Gulena street, retary.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets the first and third Friday of the at Bahn Frei Turner hall, Twelfth North avenue. Ed. Grundmann, 1720 Lloyd street.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH merly No. 9) meets at Charles hall, corner Orchard street and avenue, every fourth Friday in month.

TWELFTH WARD BRANCH MEETS ond and Fourth Thursday at 867 klanic avenue. W. Schwah, secretary, 861 Hilbert street.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH every second and fourth Wednesday the month at 524 Clarke street. Olson, 1010 Fourth street, secretary.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday in Bressler's hall, corner Twentieth Chestnut streets. Dr. C. Enrckmann, retary, 948 Winnebago street.

NINETEENTH WARD BRANCH every second and fourth Wednesday month in Meixner's Hall, corner seventh and Vliet streets. Louis secretary, 558 Twenty-ninth street.

TWENTIETH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkmann's hall, ner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 22) meets at Gaertner hall, Green Bay avenue, near Concordia, every second and fourth Tuesday in the month.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH (No. 4) meets every first and third day of each month at Mueller's corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 891 Twenty-fifth street.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Emilie St. Louis, Mo.

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD—State retary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State Milwaukee, Wis.

THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every first and third Monday lag of the month at Kaiser's hall, Fourth street. Eugene H. Rooney, retary; John Doerfler, treasurer, 701 nebago street.



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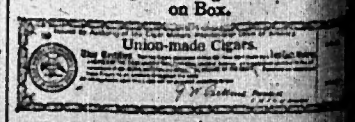


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